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Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 ARA-10 EUR-12 EA-10 NEA-10 ISO-00 AF-10
OMB-01 TRSE-00 HEW-04 SIL-01 LAB-04 AGRE-00 CU-04
LOC-01 COME-00 SS-15 SP-02 L-03 NSCE-00 USIE-00
OIC-02 IOE-00 CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 PA-01 PRS-01
H-01 SSO-00 INRE-00 /114 W
----------002329 152030Z /41
O 151950Z NOV 77
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3090
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY CANBERRA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY KINGSTON
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY TOKYO

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E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: UNGA, EGEN, EAID, EFIN, GW
SUBJECT: OVERVIEW MECHANISM FOR THE NORTH/SOUTH DIALOGUE:
A PRESCRIPTION FOR TROUBLE

1. SINCE THE ACTIVITIES OF THE AGENCIES BASED IN GENEVA WILL BE THE PARTICULAR FOCUS OF ANY OVERVIEW FUNCTION THAT MAY BE DEVELOPED WITHIN THE UN SYSTEM, MISSION GENEVA BELIEVES THAT IT HAS A PARTICULAR INTEREST WITH RESPECT TO
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THE EFFORT IN NEW YORK BY THE G-77 TO DEVELOP SUCH A FUNCTION AND IN THE POLICY WHICH THE USG CONSEQUENTLY DEVELOPS. IN THIS CONNECTION, WE THINK THERE IS SOME SIGNIFICANCE IN THE FACT THAT THE FIRST SPECIALIZED AGENCY TO ASSOCIATE ITSELF WITH THE U.N. SYSTEM -- THE ILO -- IS PRECISELY THE FIRST SPECIALIZED AGENCY THAT THE USG HAS BEEN FORCED TO LEAVE AS A RESULT OF DOMESTIC POLI-

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TICAL PRESSURES, AND THAT ONE OF THE REASONS FOR OUR DEPARTURE WAS WHAT WE REGARDED AS THE POLITICIZATION OF THAT AGENCY.

2. INDEED, IN GENEVA'S VIEW, ONE OF THE MAJOR THREATS TO THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES IN TERMS OF CONTINUING U.S. DOMESTIC POLITICAL SUPPORT FOR THEIR ACTIVITIES IS THEIR INCREASING POLITICIZATION. THIS WEEK, FOR EXAMPLE, A DELEGATION TO THE WIPO PARIS REVISION MEETING ARRIVED IN GENEVA WITH POSITION PAPERS INSTRUCTING THEM TO REITERATE USG OPPOSITION TO A DECISION TAKEN BY AN ADMINISTRATIVE BODY OF WIPO IN RESPONSE TO A UNGA RESOLUTION INSTRUCTING THE WIPO SECRETARIAT TO TAKE CERTAIN STEPS WHICH WE REGARD AS UNCONSTITUTIONAL. EVEN WITHOUT AN OVERVIEW MECHANISM, THE PROBLEMS GENERATED BY THE TENDENCY OF THE UNGA TO ISSUE POLITICAL DIRECTIVES TO THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES IS A SOURCE OF SERIOUS CONCERN, AND THIS CAN ONLY GROW.

3. THIS MISSION, THEREFORE, FRANKLY AND EMPHATICALLY OPPOSES ANY NEW OVERVIEW MECHANISM. WE AGREE WITH THE POSITION EXPRESSED IN BONN'S 18943 THAT, WHILE WE MAY EVENTUALLY HAVE TO ACCEPT SOME NEW MECHANISM WHICH IS NOT TO OUR LIKING, IT APPEARS PREMATURE TO REACT OR TAKE THE INITIATIVE IN ADVANCING A COUNTER PROPOSAL, INCLUDING THE VERSION LAID DOWN IN THE DEPARTMENT'S "NON-PAPER" CONTAINED IN STATE 264773. QUITE ASIDE FROM THE PROBABILITY
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THAT THE G-77 (IF ITS INITIATIVE CANNOT BE STALLED) WILL BE UNWILLING TO CONSIDER A RESTRICTED GROUP, OUR POSITION IS BASED UPON THE FOLLOWING CONSIDERATIONS.

4. TO BEGIN WITH, WE HAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT THE G-77 IS BEGINNING TO FEEL RATHER STRONGLY THE DIVISIVE IMPACT OF THE NEGOTIATIONS ON THE PARTICULAR POINTS CONTAINED IN MANY OF THE CIEC TOPIC AREAS. THE CURRENT COMMON FUND NEGOTIATIONS HAVE, IF ANYTHING, TENDED TO HIGHLIGHT THE DIVERSION OF INTERESTS BETWEEN VARIOUS ELEMENTS IN THE G-77 -- PARTICULARLY THE LATIN AMERICAN/AFRICAN SPLIT ON THE USES TO WHICH THE COMMON FUND IS TO BE PUT. SIMILARLY, IN NEGOTIATIONS ON THE DRAFTING OF A CODE OF CONDUCT FOR THE TRANSFER OF TECHNOLOGY, THE DIVERSE INTERESTS OF THE LARGER LDCS VERSUS THE SMALLER LDCS IS BECOMING SIMILARLY APPARENT. IT SEEMS ALMOST INEVITABLE THAT, AS CONSIDERATION OF ISSUES MOVES FROM THE SLOGAN OR CATCHPHRASE STAGE TO A DETAILED CONSIDERATION OF THE DIFFERING NATIONAL INTERESTS INVOLVED, THE SOLIDARITY OF THE G-77 WILL BEGIN TO WEAKEN.

5. IT IS IN THE FACE OF THIS THAT THE G-77 IN NEW YORK,

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AWARE OF SUCH TENDENCIES, ATTEMPTS TO CREATE AN ATMOSPHERE
IN WHICH THE SOLIDARITY OF THE GROUP WILL BE REINFORCED.
EVIDENCE OF THIS IS THE MINISTERIAL COMMUNIQUE OF THE G-77
ISSUED AT THE END OF THE RESUMED 31ST WHICH SEEMED TO CON-
CENTRATE ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY ON A POLITICAL LEVEL PLEA FOR
RENEWED AND REINVIGORATED G-77 UNITY -- UNITY THAT WOULD
SEEM TO BE ABLE TO BE MAINTAINED ONLY WHEN ISSUES ARE
DEALT WITH AT THE HIGHEST POSSIBLE POLITICAL LEVEL AND ON
THE HIGHEST LEVEL OF ABSTRACTION.
6. IT FOLLOWS THAT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ANY SORT OF YEAR-
ROUND CONTINUING OVERVIEW MECHANISM IN THE GENERAL ASSEM-
BLY CAN ONLY ASSIST THE G-77 TO MAINTAIN THIS LEVEL OF AB-
STRACTION AND POLITICAL UNITY -- HENCE IT WILL ONLY LEAD

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TO GREATER PRESSURES ON THE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES TO ARRIVE
AT "POLITICAL WILL" SOLUTIONS WHICH MAY WELL NOT REPRESENT

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THE TRUE NATIONAL ECONOMIC INTERESTS OF EITHER THE LDCS OR THE OEVELOPED COUNTRIES. INDEED, IT CAN ONLY SERVE TO COMPLICATE THE ONGOING PROCESS OF POINT-BY-POINT, PARA-GRAPH-BY-PARAGRAPH, CONCEPT-BY-CONCEPT NEGOTIATION CUR-RENTLY UNDERWAY IN GATT, WIPO, UNCTAD AND ELSEWHERE BY PROVIDING AN ADDITIONAL PRESSURE-COOKER-POINT IN THE UNGA WHEN THE G-77 FEELS THAT EITHER SUFFICIENT PROGRESS OR LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

SUFFICIENT CONCESSIONS ARE NOT BEING MADE.

7. AT THE SAME TIME, JUDGING FROM THE OUTCOME OF THE CIEC, WE ASSUME THAT ANY FORUM WITH LESS THAN THE FULL MEMBERSHIP OF THE G-77 WILL LEAD TO INCREASED RIGIDITY OF POSITIONS, RATHER THAN LESS; TO INCREASED STRIKING OF RADICAL POSTURES RATHER THAN LESS. THIS FOLLOWS BECAUSE WHEN A FEW COUNTRIES ARE DESIGNATED TO REPRESENT THE IN-TERESTS OF MANY, THE MORE VOCAL RADICAL ELEMENTS INVARIA-BLY COME TO THE FORE WITH THE MODERATES HAVING TO TAKE A SECOND PLACE. WHEN IT IS NECESSARY FOR THE G-77 TO CAUCUS TO ESTABLISH A JOINT POSITION FOR INSTRUCTING SUCH A SMALLER GROUP REPRESENTING THEIR INTERESTS, FLEXIBILITY IS SACRIFICED. THIS PHENOMENON IS NOT UNKNOWN EVEN IN THE PREPARATION OF U.S. INTERNAL POSITION PAPERS WHERE THE INTERAGENCY COORDINATION AND CLEARANCE PROCESS INEVITABLY RESULTS IN THE REMOVAL OF FLEXIBILITY, NOT THE INCREASE OF IT.

8. IN SHORT, WHAT WE DON'T NEED IS A CENTRALIZED "HOT-HOUSE" FOR THE G-77 ON A HIGH, ABSTRACT POLITICAL LEVEL; WHAT WE DO NEED IS MORE OPEN, FRANK AND DIRECT CONTACT WITH THEM INDIVIDUALLY AND IN GROUPS ON THE SPECIFIC PROBLEMS THAT WE HAVE. WE THINK, THEREFORE, THAT EVERY-THING POSSIBLE SHOULD BE DONE TO DELAY OR DEFLECT WHAT-EVER PRESSURE THERE IS AMONG THE G-77 FOR AN OVERVIEW MECHANISM. WE DON'T BELIEVE THAT WE SHOULD TAKE THE INITIATIVE OR HURRY THE PROCESS ALONG. IF THE PRESSURE BECOMES TOO GREAT, THEN WE BELIEVE OUR EFFORTS SHOULD BE DIRECTED TOWARD RESTRICTING ITS MANDATE AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE. VANDEN HEUVEL

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